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HFM-B NO 84

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SUMMARY OF THE CONFIDENTIAL HISTORY OF NON-CO-OPERATION AND KHILAFAT MOVEMENT IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

PUBLISHED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS.

பாதுகாப்பு பிரிவு - 1

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செப்பனிடுவதற்காக எடுத்துக் கொள்ளப்பட்ட நாள் ஜனவரி 2007

செப்பனிட்டு முடித்த நாள் மார்ச் 2007

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~~Public Dept. G.O. No. 125 ... 1925.~~

The Non-cooperation & Khilafat Movements in the Madras Presidency-part I.-The Non-cooperation Movement in Madras Presidency-Chapter I. The birth of the Non-Co-operation in the Madras presidency 1919-1920.

(1) The Political situation in 1919 and 1920.

Split of the Home Rule party over the question of Reforms in 1919.

(The moderates welcomed the Reforms as definite step in the achievement of their aims-Extremists were irreconcoilable-Hindu agitation was directed against Rowlatt Bills and their sequel passive Resistence, and later against the Reform Bill and the punjab commission- The Rowlatt Bills and Satyagra-ha were not understood in Madras Presidency, and the demonstrations sucessfully organised them were artificial in character. The Reform Bill on which public attention was focussed created little popular excitement.) Muhammadan sympathies were intrigued, and they were more prominent in political affairs than before. The terms of peace to be imposed on Turks was the cause of some anxiety. The unrest reached its climax on the Khilafat day on 17th.Oct. The occasion passed away peacefully. No enthusiasm was created in the mufassal; in certain places the proceedings were organised not by Muhammadans but by extremist Hindus who were bidding for the establishment of Hindu-Muslim entente.

Economic distress in various places-labour unrest in the city of Madras and formation of labour Union- A Mappilla outbreak due to a private quarrel was suppressed.

The Passing of the Reform Act failed to elicit any response- Moderates notwithstanding their appreciation of the Reforms took no active steps

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to counteract the nationlist propaganda- ~~sfxxxdxxs~~.
1920- Good deal of unrest in the city of Madras- establishment of labour unions by workers of almost every kind- office bearers of several of these were well-known political agitators-.

The Turkish question continued to x agitate the mind of Mussalmans- and this community was therfore chosen as the subject of Mr.Gandhi's forst experiment in Non-co-operation.

(II). <u>General course of the Movement in the Presidency during 1919-20.</u>

(Mr.Gandhi in order to unite the Hindus and Muslims and to acquire among the latter the same kind of authority that he enjoyed among the former gave to the Non-co-operation Movement a distinctive Muhammadan bent at the time of its inception- on the Khilafat day, at the instance of Tajuddin Arif of Bombay the Muslim shops were closed. C.Rajagopalachari, who had been looking to produce Hindu-Muslim entente, persuade the Hindus also to close their shops; sothat on 17th.October 1919 most of the shops in the bazaar were closed in the Madras city.)

Peace celebration were fixed for December 13th, 1919; Anti peace committe was set up, and Gandhi announced his intention of declaring a <u>hartal</u> and days of mounting. On the evening of the day fixed for celebrations, a meeting of 2000 Muslims and 200 Hindus met at a meeting in the Triplicane Beach and passed resolutions that neither Muslim-s nro Hindus should co-operate in the peace celebrations; but on the following day when the celbrations took place no signs of abstention on the part of any section of the community were visible.

(19th May 1920-fixed as a day of fast and mourning by the Khilafat organisation-) Shaukat Ali's threat that in case that peace terms did not conform to certain requirements, the Muhammadans would be forced to sever their loyal connexion with British throne- Govt. issued a resolution

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That Government servants should not participate in the celebration of this day. Gandhi came to the fore-front. Contrary to the opinon of liberal leaders, he declared th that in case the Govt. failed to get the terms of the Turkish treaty revised to satisfy Muslim sentiment, he would himself lead a Non-Cooperation Movement directed towards making the position of the Govt. impossible.

In Madras Presidency Khilafat day passed off uneventfully- Muhammadan shops closed for a day in Madras; and in some of the larger towns, Hindu shops were also closed. The real promoters of hartals were not Muhammadans at all but Hindu politicians. Shankat Ali's tour- His speeches had a deep but somewhat temporary effect upon his Muhammadan hearers. 'It is perhaps x in the joint' 'Non-co-operation' of certain Muhammadans and Hindus that the genesis of the wider movement is to betraced'. (The character of this non-coperation is briefly described in Shankat Ali's presidential address of the Khilafat conference.

/1st. step:- stopping of giving donations, war loans, giving up of honorary posts, titles, xx memberships of councils &C.

2nd. step:-Giving up of civil posts from the highest to the lowest ranks.

3rd. step:- Giving up of police and military services.

4th. step:- Non-payment of all kinds of taxes.

The acceptance of the principle of xxxxxxxxxxxxxx non-violence, as laid down by Mahatma Gandhi, was essential for the sucess of the movement- Lokamanuju # Tilak' is said to have promised full active support.)

THE SITUATION AFTER THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF PEACE TERMS WITH TURKEY.:-

The news was received in the mufassal with calmness amounting to indifference- In Madras the Muhammadans

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were more outspoken- The leading Khilafatist Yaqub Hasan resigned his seat in the Legislative council & of the Ex Prince of Wales Reception committee.

Provincial conference at Tinnevelly on 22nd.June. 1920- Mr.S.Srinivasa Ayyangar presided. Khilafat & Non-coopertation question discussed. The president refused to commit himself to non-cooperation; but through the exertion of C.Rajagopalachari the resolution in favour of the policy of Gandhi and Shankat Ali was adopted. Meeting at Kalldai Kurichi attended by Messers Srinivasa Ayyangar, Kasturiranga Ayyangar, and Satyamurthi. Non-co-operation received very little support. Stress was chiefly laid on the necessity for ensuting that all candidates returned to the Legislative councils should be congressmen.

(August.1920- Soon after the announcement of Turkish peace terms, Gandhi declared his intention of leading a non-cooperation campaign- August 1st.1920 declared a day of hartal. In Madras, besides Yaqub Hasan, C. Rajagopalachari and other Hindus were the most energetic advocates of non-cooperation.) Third Khilafat day on the 1st. of August.- Meeting in the beach, where prayers offered- resignation of titles & C postponed. Successful hartal in Madras and mufassal towns. Its success was largely depended on the efforts of Hindu pleaders and politicians.- Arrival of Messers Gandhi and Shankat Ali, on the secret invitation of Yaqub Hasan- a surpise to the Madras Govt. as the public of Madras- Big welcome at the Railway station- A large meeting attended by 20,000 people in the beach on the evening of 12th August.1920. (In a long speech, Gandhi explained why he was launching the non-co-operation movement. It was to put the matter in a nutshell to secure justice from the British for the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs. In addition to the four stages of the non-co-operation, already outlined in Shankat Ali's

speech, three more were suggested on the occasion:-

(1). Boycott of councils,

(2) suspension of practice by lawyers; and

(3) the withdrawal of children from Govt. schools stigmatizedas factories of clerks and Govt. servants.

The tour of Mahatma Gandhi and Shankat Ali in South India- Results of the tour.

(1) collection of funds -sums up to Rs.2000 and Rs.3000 subscribed.

(2) increase in the number of resignations of honorary officers and titles-secured mainly by bullying tacti-s.

15th.August.1920:- Meeting of the Madras Provincial Congress committee- Kasturi Ranga Ayyangar presided- Nationalists and moderates both participated- The latter opposed it; but on the advice of Nationlist Lawyers, non-cooperation was accepted in principle, and the drawing up of the programe was postponed.

CALCUTTA CONGRESS.1920:- Large contigent of Muslim delegates from South India.- The proceedings ended in a victory to non-cooperation- A committee was appointed to chalk out the extent and programme of the movement- It contained ten items- Besides the subjects mentioned in Shankat Ali's Presidential address and Mahatam Gandhi's speech in the Madras beach these included refusal of the military clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits for service in Mesopota-a. withdrawal by the candidates of their candidature for election to new councils- refusal of voters to vote for those that stood for election; boycott of foreign goods; revival of svadesi in the form of handspinning and weaving; the creation of the svaraj fund; and the formation of the volunteer corps.

Effects:- Kasturi Ranga Ayyangar, Rangaswami Ayyangar

and Satyamurthi did not accept the congress resolution and resigned from M.C.C.; but C.Vijayaraghava Charyar withdrew from candidature for the new councils- S.Sriniva sa Ayyangar and several others also withdrew; but he recanted and contested the University seat. A few, specially the Muhammadans, gave up their titles through intimidation- A propaganda campaign was launched in several palces in the mufassal in the south-) In the north of the Presidency active movements in favourof non-cooperation in Guntur, Kistna and Godavari Districts--- The boycott of the councils was preached In the Kistna district discontended village officers resigned their offices and joined congressmen, some of whom even coquetted with Bolshivism-

EFFECTS OF N.C.O. COUNCIL ELECTIONS:-

(1) Candidates appeared for all seats in the Legislative council, Legislative Assembly and the council of state.

(2) 52% of the voters of the Madras city went to the polls.

(3) in muffassal owing to heavy rains their percentage ranged from 50 in Bellary, 46 in Anantapur and 12 in North Arcot. In the Muhammadan constituency of South Kanara, an illiterate coolie was returned un-opposed- In respect of this the non-cooperators scored a point. The non-cooperators did not entirely depend upon preaching the 'pure non-cooperation creed'. They adopted questionable methods.

After the election were over the non-cooperators turned their attention to the boycott of educational intitutions- In Guntur District they had some success with two newly constituted municipalities; because the constitution of these municipalities was not popular.

... to persuade the student.
stop from schools 225 and colleges. This was also a failure

CHAPTER. II.

THE NON-CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT OF 1921.

(Indian National congress session at Nagapur at the end of 1920, notwithstanding the protests of several extremist stalwarts, and resignation several prominent persons from congress, was a triumph to Mr.Gandhi- The non-cooperation programe was congirmed; and the creed of the congress was altered so as to eliminate adherence to British connexion and constitutional methods of agitation.)

Return of the delegates from Nagapur-- their activities February 1921-- Unsuccessful attempt to boycott the visit of the Duke of Connought. They wanted (1) to hold a 'monster' meeting at the hour of the Duke's landing, and (2)to organize a generalstrike of the public utility services in the city of Madras. But there was little response- Next, they attempted to persuade the students to stop from schools and colleges. This was also a failure-

In the districts:-

(1) Malabar:- Non-Cooperation Propaganda coupled with a scheme for tenancy reform the movement took a firm hold in Malabar. The congressites secured the support of the Mappillas- Yaqub Hasan and other leaders invited to address meetings-District Magistrates issued order prohibiting them from addressing meetings-- They resolved to defy the order. A telegram sent to the Madras dailies was intercepted by the postal authorities and sent to the District Magistrate- Arrest of Yaqub Hasan and others' and on their refusal to give security fro good behaviour were sent to Jail-Ajournment motion in the Legislative council was talked out- House was strongly in support of District Magistrates Action-

(2) Guntur and Kistna:- Staging of the drama called 'Swarajya Soupanam'. OBJECT:- to glorify the non-co-operation which it identified with swaraj and bring the

Government into contempt-performance prohibited throughout the presidency under Section 3(b) of the Dramatic Performance Act.

End of February:- Appearance of temperance movement in almost district except in the extreme south--Sales of arrack shops boycotted in several places-- movement not entirely political good many supporters were not -non-co-operators Dr.Rajans attempt to start a movement for the non-payment of revenue in Trichinopoly.

March.1921:- Outbreak of serious disturbance in Trichur in the Cochin state- High class Hindus (Nayars) and the Muhammadans ranged on one side; the law class Hindus(Tiyyas) and the Christians ranged on the other.

Cause of the conflict:- The Thiyyas and the Chritians held provocative demonstrations to resist the entry of the non-cooperators with whom the other party sympathised into the state- Mappillas from Malabar were invited to support the non-cooperators. There was some looting and incendiarism; but a detachment of British Reserve Police from Coimbatore whom the state authorities called in soon restored order. This incident in the opinion of the Editor of New India justified the arrest of Yaqub Hasan and others by the District Magistrate earlier.

Vigrous attempts elsewhere in the Madras Presidency to organize the N.C.O. Movement ; but no developments to refuse to pay taxes, though in certain places were made to corrupt village officers- Non-cooperators secured seats in municipal councils specially Chidambaram where they resolved to dispense with the whole establishment as a first step towards nationalization-

April 1921:- Tour through south India of Messers Gandhi, Shankat Ali and Muhammad Ali- At a meeting at Bezwada of the congress committee a proposal is said to have been made to resort to civil disobedience and the non-payment of taxes but was opposed by Messers Gandhi and Vijayaraghavachari of

Remarkable difference between the tone of Mr.Gandhi's speeches and those of the other leaders especially Muhammad Ali. The latter found fault with the student for theeir failure to take advantage of 'Great Indian Resolution'; declared that he and his ~~xxxxxx~~ brother welcomed death if by means of that they could sound the death knell of British Raj and expressed his willingness not only to join with his fellow Muslims the Amir of Afghanistan, if and when he came on Jehad to India. Gandhi confined himself to the social side of his work and laid stress on (1) discording foreign cloth, the need for adopting the spinning wheel, the necessity of men and money for carrying on the work, the non-violent character of non-co-operation and the abolition of untouchability(see the long extract from the Hindu of 9th April.1921).

The Government were very concerned with the suggestiion made in certain papers that Gnadhi might visit Malabar because he said at Berhampore on his way to Bezwada that he preferred anarchy to British and a speech of this character might incite directly the excitable Mappillas rebellion-Gandhi did not however visit Malabar.

The visits of both Gandhi and Ali brothers created temporary enthusiasm-Large crowds came out of curiosity-women inspired with real feelings of adoration to the Mahatma gave him many thousand rupees work of jewels- Money so collect-ed was spent in paying agitatirs to tour the country urging the need for men money and Khaddar. Non-cooperation did not make much headway. But anti-British and anti-Government sentiments were preached extensively- A movement for the non-payment of municipal taxes hegan to grow.

MALABAR :- Congress conference at Ottapalem was not as largely attended as expected- Orders were issued by the Govt. to Governmentx servants directing them to oppose the non-co-operations, and help the non-officials who were attempting to combat them. Reforms conference at Calicut presided over by Mrs.Besant was largely attended. Anti-non-cooperation meeting by one of the ministers in North Arcot and Coimbatore District

Hartals on Jallianwallah Bagh day on 13th April 1921 were not very succesful. The attempt of non-cooperators to photograph on a temple car during festival precipitated a fight between them and their opponents in one village in Godavari District.

May 1921:- N.C.movement made least preogress in southern (tamil) districts.Non-payment of taxes openly advocated in Godavari District. The District Magistrate arrested five of the ringleaders- In Guntur Government servant were boycottedin some places- In Malabar Khilafat movement assumed a definitely religious aspect. In Nellore and the Circars anti-drink propaganda became distinctly violent. In Nellore the Government work steps to prevent intimidation of drink-addicts-Reaction against the movement set in.

Strike in the Carnatic Mills on May 1920; no doubt it was instigated by non-cooperators.

June 1921:- District conference at Guntur-Large number of loyalists came to swamp the conference. The Non-cooperators declared it at the last ~~moment~~ moment to be a gathering ofnon-cooperator and exluded the loyalists.

The ringleaders arrested in Godavari District for advocating non-payment of taxes were acquitted asthey said in the court that they were opposed to that movement.

In Madras sympathetic strike in the Buckingham Mills headed by one Kalyanasundara Mudaliar; but M.C.Raja induced some of the Adi-Dravada labourers to continue work..

July 1921:- Buckingham Mills-Adi-Dravida huts were set fire to; fire brigade was attacked; in the course of disturbance three Policemen were shot; one died; troops requisitioned from the fort-Political leaders were summoned before full cabinet on 5th July and warned. This disturbance was no doubt to political agitation- unsuccessful attempts were made to bring about a general strike-incendiarism in the premises of BOC was foiled.

Political activity was mostly confined to collection of meny for Swaraj Fund.

Result-- poor in many districts; but in Guntur a sum of Rs.90,000 is said to have been collected- The situation in this district was indeed threatening. Contempt for authority and open defiance of Government were prevalent.

In Malabar.:- Meeting of the loyal Mappillas at Ponnani- many Maulavies attended- The meeting was a big sucess as it showed that many religious leaders and respectable Mappillas were against non-cooperation.

August.1921:- Failure in the sales of toddy shops- in many districts shops were sold at very low prices; in others there were no sales at all. Non-cooperators claimed this as a sucess for their movement. Not entirely so- Though preaching non-cooperation and picketing of the liquor shops had largely congributed to producex this result, there were other factors.

Boycott of foreign cloth did not make much- attempx attempts no doubt were made to turn foreing cloth on xxxxx 'Tilak pay' failed to excite popular enthusiasm-

The spirit of lawlessness in the East coast districts specially Guntur increased- Hartals were proclaimed; school boys were forcibly prevented from attending schools The Government arrested the leaders and brought in extra police from outside.

In Malabar the situation became extremely grave. The Mappillas rose up in rebellion suddenly. At Pukottur and Tanulur the Mappillas sucessfully prevented the police from arresting criminals. The district Magistrate declare-d that unaided by the military, the civil power could not face the rebels. Arrangements were accordingly made to increase the half company of British troops at Calicut into a full company. This however did not appreciably improve the situation. The Tiruvangadi incident brought the matters to a head. A body of troops and special police had to retire to Calicut without arresting a few Khilafat agitators at Tiruvangadi for which they had gone to the place. This was the signal fro a general rising

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in the Taluks of Ernad, Walluvanad and North Ponnai- Means of communication were destroyed, Government offices and Government servants were attacked; Mappillas indulged in looting and all kinds of excesses including the forcible conversion of Hindus. In the coastal Andhra districts the political situation was disquiting. Godavari District conference passed a resolution favouring non-cooperation. Similar resolution was vetoed in Guntur; and in Kistna police were attacked by a mob shouting"non-cooperation-ki-Ja A riot broke out at Karur in Trichinopoly; caste warfare broke out in Madras between the Hindus and Muslims on one side and the Adi-Dravidas on the other. Picketing of the liquor shops, boycott of their sale &C became common in other districts. Grazing regulations were violated in Salem and Guntur.

September.1921. The outbreak in Malabar had a sobering effect in other parts of the presidency. Temporary decline of the non-cooperation movement in Madura; and the signs of split between the Hindus and Muhammadans in Trichinopoly. No improvement of the situation in the circars- Inflammatory speeches by BH.Suryaprakasa Rao and M.Balasubramanyagupta- Prosecutionof Yaqub Hasan and Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya Sanctioned-Ellore Municipal council passed a resolution to boycott second member of the council during his visit. The non-cooperators of Guntur are reported to have resolved to adopt violent methods; the Palnad taluk favoured civil disobedience though vetoed by Mr.Gandhi. In other parts of the presidency see secs. 144 of CR.PR.Code against leaders and touring agitators produced good results-Liquor shops were sold with a fair measure of sucess- Movement to disobey forest regulations was spreading in Trichinopoly, Nellore and Cuddapah.

Reports of the visit of Messers Gandhi and Shankat Ali Actually it was, Muhammad Ali who accompanied him- Muhammad Ali's arrest at Waltair- and despatch to Karachi by a special train-Gandhi's arrival in Madras on the 15th and

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stay for two days- the order of the Madras Government prohibiting him from visiting the distmbed area. He did not attempt to visit Malabar. His tour vested Cuddalore, Kumbakonam, Trichinopoly, Dindigul, Madura, Chettinad, and Tinnevelly- returned via Coimbatore, Salem, Bellary and Ananthapur- He left the presidency on 30th September. His speeches throught the tour were restrained-for the most part he harped on the spinning wheel and wearing Khaddar-Financially his tour was a failure- He could not collect money- Khaddar was conspicuous by its absence- those that wore Khaddar out it on for the occasion- His visit was a political failure.

P.16. Long extract from a speech of Mahatma Gandhi delivered at the Madras Beach on 16th September.1921.

Refers to the refusal of the government to permit him and the Ali brothers to visit Malabar- alludes to the burning of the Khaddar caps and the vests probably by the police- also to new methods of humiliation not only by the authorities in Malabar but also by Reform Ministers- mentions the imposition of municipality on the unwilling people of Chirala and Perala, the forcible collection of granting tax and the impounding of the cattle- He also reiterates the necessity to observe non-violence and wear Khaddar in order to win swaraj- and concludes by the statement, ' the present Government is the Kingdom of Satan' and that we seek to substitute the Kingdom of Satan by the Kingdom of God;'

P.17. Extract from Mahatma Gandhi's speech at Trichinopoly The Hindu Thursday 22nd September.1921.

He refers to the arrests of Dr.Kitchlew by the Govt. of India and of Ali Brothers by the Bombay Government- quotes the reason given by the Bombay Government for the arrest of the latter: that hey attempted to tamper with the loyalty army at a conference at Karachi by declaring that it was a sin for a Mussalman to serve in the British army, and declares that he had done so before

and would it again- points out that the Indian National Congress at Calcutta and Nagapur had similar tampered with the loyalty of the army.

Latter half of september:- Tour of the Rev.Mem. of Ex.Council together with three ministersthrough East Coast districts- was sucessful-did good-Anti-non-cooperation meeting at Guntur Cocanada-visit of a company of British soldiers to Bezwada, Guntur and Ellore produced salutary effest.

October.1921:- Decided lull in political activity-

In Circas congress party announced that there would be no meeting until November.1, when N.C.O. would be started. In Kurnool, Salem and Ramnad there was some trouble in the guise of temperance reform-voilation of forest regulations in Guntur-Resignation of clerks in Government employ at Bezwada and Sivaganga. In Kistna village officers sympathised with N.C.O. Foreign cloth was boycotted with some sucess in Kistna; Agitation against the payment of tolls and municipal taxes was started in Anantapur and Kistna.

Local board and municipalities in Malabr passed resolutions condemning the outbreak and expressing their deisre to co-operate with Government.

November.1921:- Theatres of Political activity:- Ganjam, Anantapur, North Arcot, Madura(Dindigul),Vizagapatam, Krunool,Nellore,Tinnevelly,Kistna and Godavari Districts- Guntur served as the centre of progaganda for the neighbouring districts-Revival of temperence movement and picketing of liquor shops-interest was focussed on the trial of local agitators-

Civil Disobedience agitation came into prominence- considerable body of opposition-Tour of the minister Mr.A.P.Patro in the Bellary District-had excellent effect- The formation of a Reform league with substancial membership.

Universal attempt to observe hartal on the occasion of the landing of the prince of Wales met with varying success.

Spread of non-cooperation among members of local boards-The resolution of the Rajahmundry Municipal council

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ordering the closing of schools on the occasion of Prince's landing- The Editor of the Quami Report of Tanjore sentenced to two years imprisonment. Appearance of women political agitators at Nellore- In Kistna some village officers who criticised the government were placed under suspension.

December.1921.:- Issue by the government of a notification applying Part II of the Cr. Law-Amendment Act XIV of 1908 to the whole presidency only as a precautionary measure. Excitement both in non-cooperation circles as well as among moderates- Legislative council refused to give permission to move an adjournment motion.

(No association was declared unlawful-but the volunteers who picketed and made violent speeches were dealt with as individuals- In Madras, Guntur, Kistna, Coimbatore, Ramnad, Trichinopoly and Nellore some hundreds are said to have signed the volunteers' pledge-volunteers in Madras to promote hartals on the day of the Prince of Wales. They were left to be dealt with by the Prince of Wales volunteers organized by the legislative council.)

Agitation noticeable in the Anantapur, North Arcot, Guntur Kistna and Nellore Districts and the parts of the Cuddapah District-Proceedings under sec,188 I.P.C. against Messers. C.Rajagopalchari and E.V.Ramaswamy Naicker . Infringement of the forest laws in Rayachoti taluk and the assault on a forest Range officer-several village heads implicated-disturbance dueas much to natural turbulence of the people as to oppositio-n to forest lawas and political causes. During the latter half of the month most of non-cooperation leaders were at Ahmadabad . Those that were left behind mostly engaged themselves in disobeying orders under sec.144 Cr.P.C.- 100 persons were sentenced to short term imprisonment in Erode under 188 I.P.C. In other districts dozen persons were sent to prison for refusing to furnish security- but V.O.Chidambaram Pillai, ex-convict, furnished security.

Resolutions passed at the meetings of non-cooperations

in Guntur favouring non-payment of taxes-village officers who resigned were delat with firmly in Kistna-some however retracted-speech of branch Post master at Anantapur advocating the boycott of Government servants and civil disobedience.

Renewed attempts to persuade ~~ha~~ vakils to suspend practise-produce no result, Picketing of liquor shops in Guntur Salem and Anantapur-voilent activity of Madura Nadar sangam-March of troops from Secunderabad through parts of Godavari Kistna and Guntur districts- In the Madras city, determined effort was made to undermine the discipline of city police-All the members of Mens's union belonged to the force; but their actions betrayed that outside influence were at work.

CHAPTER III.

THE NON-CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT IN 1922 and After.

I The Movement in 1922.

January 1922 :- Arrival of the prince of wales in Madras-Non-cooperation movement, Judging from the conduct of the people, does not seem to have affected the masses to any extent-Rowdyism by the non-cooperation-disturbances in the city-As a result of this the outward appearance of a complete hartal was obtained- The police strike did not materialize-

Civil disobedience in Guntur-first move-refusal to pay taxes- No open violence ; but the village officers resigned their offices in large numbers-persons willing to take their places were intimidated-Imposition of punitive police force on a group of 18 villages-Demonstration of military force-Refusal to pay taxes continued throughout January- special staff sent to realise revenue met with passive obstruction-special steps taken by the Government(1) demand for the payment of all later instalments on 10th February(2) special ligislation to quicken the process of collection and to deprive the disloyal village officers of their hereditary rights-Leaders including Konda Venkatappayya paid their own taxes-Malicious reports about the conduct of troops-

The people of Kistna and Godavari sat on the fence to see what would happen in Guntur; but symptions of refusal made

made themselves manifest in a small area in Vizag District. Destruction of toddy shops in Salem-Arrest of the leaders-excitement died down-

<u>February 1922:-</u> Distinct lull in political activity-due partly to the decision of the working committee of the Congress to suspend mass Civil Disobedience, but largely to the action of the Government in the Guntur District. Besides in Pedanandipadu firka, the centre of the movement of taxes, lawlessness due to the activities prevailed in a large number of isolated villages- Resistance to officials organised, a state of affairs bordering on anarchy prevail-ed. A small force of armed police, a detachment of the Governor's body-guard dealt with these villages-

Progress of volunteer movement in Godavari District-move to extend non-payment of taxes-certain number of village officers resigned- quartering by the Government of a small punitive force in the affected area.

The arrest of the Chairmen of the Rajahmundry municipality and his followers under section 144 C.P.C. and conviction under 188 C.P.C. led to demonstrations in Rajahmundry , Cocanada.

Resignation of 16 village officers in Kistna and the retraction of the same number previously resigned-Movement to with-hold taxes in Bezwada municipality subsided when three of the leaders were arrested under section 107 C.P.C. and sentenced- Indications of the attempts to introduce the movements in Nellore and Kurnool- Indications of the growing contempt of authority in Ganjam-

Salws of arrack shops comparatively successful- A good deal of volunteer activity in Godavari, Vaniyambadi, Ganjam and the city of Madras- Anti-European feeling in Ganjam-section 144 Cr.P.C. against the disloyal youths in Trichi-nopoly- 50 arrested-search of the congress offices revealed the payment of the "repression allowances" to volunteers by Non-cooperators- Mrs Sarojini Naidu's visit to Malabar-

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Her objectionable speech in Madras alluding to the atrocities committed by the 'minions of Martial Law'.

March.1922- Continuance of lull in political activity. Bardoli Resolutions-and the subsequent decision of AICC did not revive enthusiasm for extremist programe. Arrest of Mr.Gandhi received with indifference- A few meetings and a crop of small bonfires of foreign cloth only indications- In Guntur half of 60 lakhs of revenue collected- In Kistna Gandhi discredited for not making good any of his promises- quartering of punitive police restored in Cuddapah respect for authority-six of the most violent non-cooperators were prohibited from entering Malabar District by the District Magistrate under the New Malabar ordinance- Three Khilafatists could notget a hearing at Tirur. Disturbance in the Madura Jail incited by six non-cooperating inmates-

April 1922:- (Congress activities mainly confined to the popularization of Khaddar and boycott of drink and foreign cloth.)

National week- 6th to 13th- Hartal on the 14th- In most of the bigger towns it was more, or less complete due to special efforts- In many places, no hartal at all; and in others only partial. In Godavari District volunteers continued to make themselves conspicuous- the arrest and rigorous imprisonment of a brahman widow caused a sensation. Attempts in Madras to revive trade unions and affiliate them to Congress organisations- Attempts to stir up discontent among workers in mills and enlist the sympathy of the Adi-Dravidas to non-cooperation movement. Arrival of a number of Muslim agitators from outside of the presidency to infuse fresh energy.

May 1922:- No marked increased in political activity- Vigorous propaganda specially among Mussalmans in favour of Khaddar "Gandhi Day" celebration on 18th a failure-

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Azad Subhani prohibited from entering Malabar- His ~~xxxxxx~~ speeches elsewhere in the Madras presidency- Abdus Samad arrested on a charge of sedition- Telugu press advocated the entry of non-cooperators into legislative councils-Swarajya's warning.

June 1922:- Situation quiet and Ramzan passed off without incident- In some Telugu Districts, non-cooperators either apologised or found security- In Guntur, still difficulty regarding enfocement of forest regulations-Recrudescence of non-cooperation activities in Godavari-Arrest of Abdus Samad under Section 108 Cr.P.C. and sentence- M.S.Subrahmanya Ayyar went to jail rather than offer secu~~rity~~- Allegation that he reseived Rs.50/- for doing so.

July 1922:- Attempt to celebrate Gandhi Day on 18th in the Madras city- Little enthusiasm- the schemem called 'Hindustan Panchayat' put florward by extremists-Governor's visit to Guntur was a great success- People were friendly and signs of revulsion of feeling- Guntur Municipal council decided to present anaddress to him-withdrawal of punitive tax after six months instead of one year- Meeting, and PCC at Bezwada-decided that civil disobedience was not practical for the time being-Speeches in the district conference Tinnevelly moderate. July 25th visit of civil disobedience committee and the Khilafat Enquiry committee. Thanks to the strenuous efforts by the extremists large crowds gathered at the Railway station and the beach meeting- on the next two days, they examined witness-visit to Vaniyambadi and Erode- In Guntur, section 144 Cr.P.C. prohibiting volunteers, fines and punishments- large meeting in the evening- Address voted by the municipal council but vetoe--d by the Collector read by the non-cooperating councill-ors- committee's short stay at Bezwada-presentation of municpal address- train dtopped in several place en route

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for Calcutta.-reception given by non-cooperators-.

August.1922.:- Mild revival of the non-cooperation propaganda in two or three districts as a result of the committee's visit- social boycott of a Muslim . Honorary Magistrate for flying the Union Jack. At Ellore in the Kistna District, non-cooperators failed to secure any seat in the Municpal council.

"Futuri" of Sri. Rama Raju, reputed to be a holy among the hillmen in the Agency division- no direct connexion with non-cooperation movement.

September.1922:- political activity mainly on the Khilafat side- public meetingsxxxxxx held to congratulate the Turks on their success- display of antipathy towards the British- and extravegant claims for the value of Hindu Muslim unity- Abdul Majid Sharar released recently from jail on medical grounds took part in meetings, dwelt upon the meaning of Jehad- and the possibility of the Muslims breaking their allegiance and offering to Mustapla Kemal.

Door to door non-cooperation in Guntur District. In Godavari six members of a Panchayat prosecuted and fined under section 176 and 202 I.P.C. for trying civil and criminal cases. Success of non-cooperators at the local board election in Guntur and Coimbatore.

October.1922:- Muhammadan feeling kept alive by a series of meetings-Mudania agreement and the relief of the Muslim community- Andhra Provincial Congress at Chittoor- Resolution promising support to the Turks in the event of a war with England- Resolution of sympathy with the Akalis- volunteers picketing cloth shops in Tinnevelly- their violation of the instruction and apology to the public by the D.C.C.. Sarojini Naidu's tour in the Presidency- Congress committee in Malabar issued an exhaustive questionaire in anticipation of the arrival of Congress committee of Enquiry into Malabar Rebellion-strong counter

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manifesto signed by fifteen prominent Hindus warning the public against accepting its findings.

<u>November.1922:-</u> Little political activity- Extremist Hindu opinion disappointed with the report C.D.C. Ist november Ali Brothers day- Honorable K.V.Rangaswami Ayyangar, member of the council of state, presided- Resolution apprecrating their services to Islam and India- Tamil Nadu conference at Coimbatore- supported peacefulnon-cooperation- Tour of Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya in Guntur and his speeches-

<u>December.1922</u> :- Khilafat day observed on 8th December- Attention focussed on the Gaya congress.

(<u>II The Movement After 1922.</u>

1923 Split betwwen the two parties in the congress a death blow to the non-cooperation Movement. Some attempt to resusciate it in 1923- only in Madura anti-liquor campaing attained considerable dimensions- volunteers resorted to open obstruction- one toddy shop burint- Measures concerted to prevent picketing- Movement was suspended.)

Gandhi Day celebration on 18th July- display of national flags- little interest aroused- Attempt by the non-cooperators to boycott the Viceroy and Lady Reading- not successful- Their Excellencies received with enthusiasm.

INdian National congress and Khilafat conference &C at Cocanada- congress reaffirmed Delhi compromise and Gandhi's original triple boycott-

The Tour of political leaders and memebrs of the Khaddar Board- cessation of Khilafat activities after the conclusion of a treaty between Britain and Turkey.

1924 Attempts to celbrate Gandhi week from Gebruary 18th, 1924 fell flat. Popular interest thence forward concentrated on the doings of the Svarajists- Congress party attempted to wing over the royats to their side but were unsuccessful.

CHAPTER IV.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE NON-COOPERATION IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

I The Non-cooperation Movement and the Local Bodies.

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The ~~main main~~ plan of Campaign was to endeavour to bring the municipal administration to a stand still- Achieved a success in the case of Chirala in the Guntur District. It was constituted a municipality in 1919- received the attention of the non-cooperators in 1920. Ten out of the twelve councillors resigned. Visit of the minister of Local self government 1921.-Offer to exempt agricultural cattle and land from municipal taxation was rejected- Government insidted that the town should continue to be a municipality- Inhabitants were induced to aband- on the town and live in temporary huts and the neighbouring villages- refusal to pay municipal rates- grants from Non-cooperation funds to people who suffered from destrant- In 1922 the inhabitants returned to the town as a consequenc of the destruction of the huts by fire.

A similar movement in Repalle in the same district- but not so successful-restiveness of the people- numerous small hartals or other demonstrations whenever unpopular or enhanced taxes were imposed.

OTHER FORMS OF ATTACK:- Attempts to capture municipalities and put into practice the doctrines of ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ non-cooperation in respect of schools, liquor &c. Non-coope- rators obtained majority in a number municipalities and a few local bodies-

Their activities:- voting addresses of welcome to non-coope- ration leaders when they visited the presidency, resolving that no liquor shops should not be located within the limits of the municipality and directing that the records should be kept in the vernacular.

GUNTUR MUNICIPALITY:- resolutions to nationalize all municipal schools to reject government grants for education- al purposes and to raise a loan from the people- further resolved to reduce the rate of housetax- Salem municipal council resolved that its employees and the students in the local municipal school and college should wear Khaddar.

Rajahmundry council observed hartal on the day of the landing of the Prince of Wales.

1922:- Intensive campaign to capture local bodies- some success in the Bezwada in one of the taluk boards of Godavari- they passed resolutions on the subject of liquor shops and cow-killing and voting address to the Civil Disobedience Committee,.

II The "National" volunteers

(Recommendation of Calcutta congress in September 1920 the creation of volunteer corps for maintaining order and disciplining the people- it took sometime before the recommendation could be implemented in Madras Presidency-Regular volunteer Organization started in 1920 and reached culmination about the end of 1921 and the begining of 1922. volunteers were generally young and wore khaddar- Duties-Distribution of pamphlets and shouting Ali Ki Ja and Gandhi Ki Jai- To picket liquor shops and cloth shops and persuade the shop keepers to close their shpps on the occasions of hartal, and to keep order in processions.)

Notwithstanding Hindu Muslim unity, tendency to raise separate the Muslim(Khilafat) and the Hindu (Swarajya) corps. Rama-dandu, the notorious Northern Swarajya corps in the Circars. Duggirala Gopala Krishnayya of Guntur its leader.

End of 1921:- Efforts to organize corps national volunteers on uniforms-National volunteers designated the Santi-sena in Telugu and Tondar-padai in Tamil Districts. Nominal strength in February 1922- 3366 in the Telugu, 1899 in Tamil Districts- Actual strength probably greater. Though ceratin number of Muhammadans were aborbed, the Khilafat corp remained separate. Though required to be non-violent they caused occasionally disturbance.

Volunteers active through out the (No tax campaign

in guntur and the various anti-drink campaigns- very strong in the godavari pistrict- Frequently dispersed by the police- another form of volunteer activity in the district was to seditions songs- volunteer corps not declared unlawful- offenders dealt with as individuals volunteers paid monthly wage while picketing liquor shops, or engaged on whole time political work.

(III.NON*COOPERATION AND EDUCATION)

(great efforts made to induce boys and youths to leave governemtd and government adided schools and colleges- march 1921- out of 1,692000 only 2500 students withdrew- No adequate educational facilities provided by non-cooperators. therefore such of them that could not become propagandists returned, if they could to their schools and colleges.

About 130 national schools started in 1921- lack of funds-only 20 new schools were started 1922-schools where education was of a poor or 'freak' nature had very short life; but those that gave good coaching including the teaching of english survived when adequately financed During these years substancial increase in the number and strength of the government intitutions.)

IV.NON*COOPERATION AND THE LAW COURTS.

Boycott of law courts not effective in Madras presidenc The courts which stood to be most affected by the non-cooperation panchayat courts were the courts of village munsiffs and benches- They actually showed in the number of suits- In 1921, eighty of Panchat courts were organise and in 1922 a very few more- Tried mostly cases of civil nature and compundable criminal. Fines were imposed and these collected by threats of social boycott. No Brutal punishments were inflicted as in other provinces- Members of the pnachayat courts brought within the reach of the law convicted and puncished. In guntur District a somewha elaborate series of courts were created in an attempt to

organise a parallel government.

In 1921, 160 lawyers withdrew from practice- some of them had very little practice. The majority resumed practice in 1922.

V NON-COOPERATION AND LABOUR.

Economic strain as a consequence of war-high prices and labour unrest-Nonco-operatos found in the mass of discontednted labourers a promising field for propaganda- The so-called labour leaders were not workmen but demagogues and political adventures- they had nothing to lose but everything to gain by joining forces with non-cooperators. They organised meetingsand formed unions among the labourers in the Madras city. They preached that without swaraj they could never prosper and that therefore the aim of labour movement was therefore the attainment of swaraj.

1920.June.-September.:- Mill area in Madras was the scene of countless riots- strike- police protection for the Adi-Dravida labourers who did not go on strike- Gandhi who was expected bring swaraj only preached non-violence- outbreak of violence.-punitive police quartered in the area-labour leaders lost their hold-propaganda however continued among those who did not or could not return to work. In Coimbatore labourers were induced to picket liquor shops. (In 1922 non-cooperators worked hard to revive the labour unions, but they did not succeed.

VI. NON-COOPERATION AND THE PRESS.

English papers:- (1) The Hindu, apper with the largest circulation- an example of polished journalism-publishe subtle and able leaders strongly supported Gandhi's non-cooperation and lost no opportunity of attacking th government.

(2) The swarajya openly advocated the movement.-with its constant criticism of governemtn attaindd the fourt

largest circulation in the presidency.

(3) The Muhammadan, a rabid organ of the Khilafat movement advocated the adoption of non-cooperation by the Muhammadans.

TAMIL PAPERS:- (1) the Desabhaktan]
(2) Tamil Nadu.] Both attacked the Government and supported non-cooperation.

(3) Vaisyamitran was violent in its attacks on the Government, and proceedings had therefore to be taken against it.

(4) The Swadesamitran also criticised the Government but gave a ~~xxxxxxx~~ waverin g support to the various items of non-cooperation.

Telugu Papers:- (1) Andhrapatrika, a daily of Madras.

(2) Krishnapatrika, a weekly of Masulipatam.

~~(3)~~ They exerted a pernicious influence over the Telugu speaking districts, and were responsible both for giving wide publicity to the movement and engenderingx a spirit of opposition to authority, which manifested itself in the Northern Circars- They together with.

(3) the Hitakarani dished up to their readers the most unwholesome food picked up from the rabid anti-British press of North India and Irish ~~xxxx~~ America. The first two periodicals favoured civil Disobedience and stood against the idea of Council entry. In addition to furnishing strong leading articles they reproduced many articles from Young India, Navajivan, and other anti-Government and anti-British papers, and published much inflammatory material from the pens of correspondents. The Andhra Patrika and another paper called the Satyagrahi were prosecuted for sedition.

KANNADA PAPERS:- (1) Svadesabhimani.

(2) Kanthirava. Both published from Mangalore supported non-cooperation in its entirety.

MALAYAM PAPERS:- Old and established papers of Malabar di not succumb to the movement; but a number of new extremist

papers sprang up. In Travancore and Cochin the present le lent it support to the movement. A section of the press i these states outstripped all British papers in the violence of languamage and the bitterness of its attacks on the British government.

URDU PAPERS:- The Qaumi Report was the only Urdu journal of any importance to adopt an extremist attitude.

The Repeal of the Press Act 1912 on 29th March 1922 further deterioration of the tone of the extremist press- the editors of Qaumi Report, Azad Hind Bharat Tilak Andhrapatrika and Satyagrahi were prosecuted.

(VIII. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE MOVEMENT.

Non-cooperation movement differed from all previou political movements in India. Not confined to theinstelli- gentias gentias and the town dwellers. It was xxx a mass movement which thex rural population was called upon to participate. Reasons(1) The success of the movement movemen depended on the adoption of its programe by the masses especially the spinning and the weaving of Khaddar. (2) The reforms enfranchised a considerable part of the rural population when the candidates for the councils began to court-for the boycott of councils, the support of the rural population was essential. Therefore the non- cooperators abandoned mass meetings and committees and prevented into the most rural part of the country. As a conquence of this every district possessed one or more committees. In some, say the Northern circars the taluks and firkas had their own congress committees.)

CONGRESS ORGANIZATION:- Presidency divided into three province: Andhra, Tamilnad and Keral. South Kanara and Bellary attached to the Karantaka province with headquarters in Bomaby. The executive in each province consisted of president, secretaries and working committee. Each Distric in these provinces had a president, secretary and similar bodies exited in taluks, firkas &C. Annual conferen

ces were held every year in each of these provinces to which delegates were sent by the local organization. The provincial congress organizations directed the work, the members of the local working committees who carried on the propaganda, controlled the volunteers and paid to the workers who were not honorary. Provincial committees obtained grant from the Swaraj fund and aided them; and sent also good speakers to raise the necessary enthusiasm.

Districtcommittees had much freedom of action; control of the provincial committees only nominal- they could follow that item of non-cooperation programe which they could do so with advantage and leave out what in their opinion might not be successful. The character of the propaganda was not as high as that delineated by the leaders- Raw youths from schools were coached up 'stock' lecturers were sent. Sometimes nantch- girls were employed- They abused the government and their officials, and praised Gandhi to follow whom was to obey the injunctions of the Dharma.

VIII. PSYCHOLOGY OF THE MOVEMENT.

Why did the non-cooperation movement in the presidency go only so far and not further?

Because the non-brahman majority realized the value and the substantial nature of the reforms. The non-brahman and brahman controversy threw the political brahmons into the arms of the non-cooperators. Gandhis political ideals appealed to the more reactionary group among them. Sentimental considerations of the merchant community, because their community produced a leader of his calibre- but they never supported his foreign cloth boycott; they were not willing to make money contributions tohim and pay taxes to the government at the sametime- The defication of Gandhi by non-cooperators attracked large crowds. The ryots believed that Gandhi was a great man and that the Swaraj preached by him denoted no

taxation. when the promised swaraj did not come, they lost faith in the movement and turned to the councils.

IX THE MOVEMENT AND THE MEN.

The men behind the movementin Madras were:-

Messers S.Srinivasa Ayyangar, S.Satyamurthi Ayyar, Chakravarthi Rajagopalachari, P.Varadarajulu, Duggitala Gopalakrishnayya, Konda Venkatappayya, Bhogaraju Pattabi Sitaramayya, Kalyana Sundaram Mudaliar, Bhathi prolu Surya Prakasa Rao, Meta Balasubramaniam Gupta, T.Prakasam Dr.D.Subramaniam, V.V.S.Ayyar, Singaravelu Chetty.

High proportion of Brahmans among the leaders their per-centage is high also in the government service. The leasers came from the normally political minded classes of the community and the anti-British irreconcilables. They joined the movement either for notoriety or because they were opposed to the forces of law and order.

PART II. THE KHILAFAT MOVEMENT IN MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

CHAPTER.I.

The Birth of the Movement in 1919-20.

Muhammadan population except in Malabar small-Malabar 32 percent- in the whole of the Presidency less than 7 percent of the population. Malabar Khil.Hist.described seperately.

Muslim socio political organisation, Muslim league with headquarters in Madras- Muslims of the Presidency as their coreligionists elsewhere much exercised in their mind over the terms of peace offered by the British to the Sultan of Turkey. 17th October 1919 celebrated as Khilafat Day. Hindu extremists siezed the opportunity offered them support. Hindu and Muslim shops closed. Special prayers and processions- Resolutions of the Khilafat committee-Muhammadans should not do anything

to observe peace clebrations, but might attend if invited a temporizing resolution- not strong enough for the boycott to be effectual- Leader of the extremist Muslim party in Madras- Abdul Majid Sharar, the editor of the Quami Report He was in close tough with the Khilafat leaders of Northern India.

January.1920:- Yaqub Hasan's return to Madras-Went to England in 1919 as a member of the All India Muslim League Came ~~xxxxx~~ into contact with the Bolsheviks-returned to India with distinctly anti-British ideas-delivered lecturers on the Khilafat question-attended the meetins of Abdul Majid Sharar's party-(Member of Madras Legislature, Madras port Trust and Madras Corporation).

February 1920:- He was sent as a delegate together Abdul Majid Sharar to Luknow.

March.1920:- Decision of the A.I.K.C. to observe 19th March as Khilafat day and ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ organiza a hartal with the help of the extremist Hindus- A manifests calling on Muslim government servants in Civil, military and police employ to join in the celebration of the halt-government threat of disciplinary action against those that observed the hartal In Madras city, complete Hartal on 19th March- processions in the streets with the cries of Allaku Akbar, Hindu-Muslim Ki Jai and Turkey-Ki-Jai- Meeting in the Beach 25000 people atteddds- four platforms occupied-/

Resolution moved by Mr.Yaqub Hasan too mild for the taste of Abdul Majid Sharar-Yaqub Hasan was forced to stiffen it- He stated that France and other nations had accepted the integrity of Turkish empire but England who was desirous of remaining in Iraq was against it; she wanted to send the Turk out of Europe-Resolution was seconded by Mr.Kasturi Ranga Ayyangar.

The Resolution wanted that the integrity of the Turkish Empire should be presented: any decision contrary to that would jeopardise the peace of the world and the external and internal peace of India and strain the patience and loyalty

of Indian Mussalmans especially in this most critical moment.

Khilafat meetings held at Tinnevelly, Salm and other towns Goerge Joseph's remedy of non-cooperation-Hussain Mian Ravittars violent speech at Salem-Vadarajulu Naidu' advocay of non-cooperation.

April 1920:- Khilafat conference held in Madras- Shankat Ali's presence amde it significant. 3000 persons including Mrs.Besant and several extremist Hindu leaders attended it. volunteers provided a guard of honour and kept order in the pandal- Shankat Ali's said that the time had come for them to lay down their lives- that he differed from Gandhi, and he would resort to active resistence in additionto the passive resistence advocated by him. He statedfurther that a deputation were sending under Gandhi who would do what he could within a month and that would commence action afterwards. Several associations would start all over the country- they would stop subscribers to the government, persuade people to give up titles, honorary posts and &C, induce the police and military to give up service and the people stop payment of taxes. Abdul Majid Sharar's resolution:- that in the event of the present agitation failing to produce effect they should resort to progressive abstention from co-operation with the government.

May 1920:- Publication of the proposed terms of peace with Turkey- Resignation of Yaqub Hasan from the Legislature council and other bodies- wild talk among Muhammadan extremists- Governments concern in view of the support to them by the Hindu politicians-Loyal Muhammadans' like Muhammad Bazullah, Muhammad Usman &C kept the Muslim majority under check.

June 1920:- Spread of the movement in Malabar.

August 1920:- Formation of Khilafat committees at important Muhammadan centres- 1st August Khilafat day-

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a sunday- In Madras and other places complete hartal obs -rved- Mass meetings in the beach.

Resolution:- Expressed full sympathy with the movement of central Khilafat committee, and approved of resort to non-cooperation in the events the Imperial Government failed to secure the revision of the terms of the Turkish peace treaty- It is interesting to note in this resolution only non-cooperation is mention and not swaraj./

August 12:- Arrival of Messers Shaukat Ali and Gandhi in Madras-public meeting on the beach:- Gandhi's lecture in English on ~~xx~~ non-cooperation-(see part I). Shaukat Ali spoke in Urdu:- Meetings in various parts of the city- Tour of Gandhi and Shaukat Ali in the South- North Arcot District conference held at Ambur was attedndm by Messers Ghanphi, Rajagopalachari and Yaqub Hasan- Several Muhammadans of the district induced to resign their honorary offices. Shaukat Ali's speech at Kumbakonam-referred to the unfriendly behaviour of the British-said that it became a religious duty to cut~~x~~ off ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ co-operation with them- that it was haram for an Muhammadan to assist the government until it gave back to them their religious place and restore full powers to Khalifa- He recommended in the end that non-cooperation as advocated by Mr Gandhi should be followed.

At Trichinopoly Shaukat Ali met V.V.S.Iyer- The latter an old revolutionary- Shaukat Ali advised to use non-cooperation propaganda as cloak to cover, just as he was doing in Northern India, revolutionary work.

August.1916:- Gandhi and Shaukat Ali at Calicut. The latter instigated the Musssalmans, if they happened to be strong to fight the unjust king and the unjust government and if weak to migrate to some other country. This was dangerous stuff/ In other places he referred to the government as an enemy of God and as ~~walking~~ walking in the way of sin-.

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Khilafat committe in Madras resoved to put non-cooperation into practice on the Bakrid day about the end of August. Madras meetings-Hindu extremists figured prominently- At the secret meetings of the Khilafat committee Yaqub Hasan among others advocated the adoption of Sun Fein methods in the event of the failure of non-cooperation.

Unsuccessful attempt to induce the Muhammadan students to leave their studies- Smuggling of the proscribed Fatwas of the Ulemas and its destribution.

Report of the District Magistrate of Malabar:-

Mappillas exercised in their minds about Muhammad Ali's speeches advocating the establishment Swaraj.- they were against Home Rule because they feared the Hindus - They were becoming infected with Khilafat propaganda.

November.1920:- Khilafat propaganda concentrated on the boycott of councils- Boycott more effective in the Muhammadan than non-Muhammadan constituencies- because it was more efficacious in a comparatively in the small and the homogenous Muhammadan community than in the large and heterogeneous Hindu community.

December.1920:- After elections intensive campaign directed against educational institutions in Madras Yaquab Hasan presided over a large meeting of students in the beach- He declared, "we shall have Swaraj". 'It is a declaration of war with the British Government All are wanted to fight this war-Every one is wanted to join this army of non-cooperation. we cannot afford to leave students aside."

"There were frequent meetings for students in December, but they ahd very little effect'.

CHAPTER II.

THE KHILAFAT MOVEMENT IN 1921.

I GENERAL COURSE OF THE MOVEMENT.

In the begining of 1921, Khilafat Movement merged

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into general non-cooperation movement- In the prosecution of non-cooperation campaign, Khilafatist diffred but little from the non-cooperators- the former carried the boycott mevement to more extreme lengths than the latter- they joined the anti-drink campaign with enthisiasm -. In many towns, the Muhammadans were employed as picketeers

II KHILAFAT MOVEMENTIN THE MALABAR DISTRICT.

In Malabar district, Khilafat cum non-cooperation movement reached its height. Therefore, the movement in Malabr deserves more extended study.-Malabar seperated both geographically and linguistically from the rest of the Presidency-Hindus form the majority, and most of the land in the hands of the Hindu Jammis(Land Lords) - contains a large number of Muhammadans called Mappillas- responsible from time to time fanatical outbreaks-Mappilla -s are ingnorant, led by leaders hardly less ignorant- unreasioning devotion to their faith-Though domiciled in a fertile country, and engaged in agricultural pursuits like the Pathans of the Frontier and the Arabs of the desert, the Mappilla indulges in periodical on breaks, against the state and attacks the property of his neighbou -rs- Ernad, Ponnani and Walluvanad in th south of the district the usual scene of the outbreaks-

July to December.1920:-Non-cooperation and Khilafat meetings since July 1920-Non-cooperation and the Punjab atrocities the usual themes. In Mappilla strong holds, the religious aspect of the Khilafat question emphasized- in the neighbourhood of unpopular Jammis, non-cooperation was reinforced by anti-Jammi agitation.

Central Khilafat committee obtained good following:-

January and February 1921:- Meetings held in these months equalled in number those in the previous six months, attracted bigger andiences-

Leaders:- Two Nayar (Hindu) pleaders, K.Madhavan Nayar and U.Gopala Menda who suspended their practices-By February, movement took firm hold in the district.

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so far as the Mappillas were concerned it tiik a religiou -s aspect, it was supported by a wide speread campaign of boycott and intimidation.

District Magistrate's order section 1[illegible] of Cr.P.C. prohibiting for two months on the Khilafat questio[illegible] Ernad and parts of Walluvanad- Town of Calicut which Yaqub Hasan was expected to visit included-Arrest of Yaqub Hasan and other leaders-procession eighteen to twen -ty-thousand strong including 1000 Mappillas from the Fanatical zone- dispersed by firm and tactful handling

March ,921:- The incident at Tiruvangadi of Mappillas calling Nayar(Hindu) women by Mappilla names-its significance- in the coming Khilafat-raj, they would be converted and married to Mappillas- An Arabic Malayalam pamphlet, a counterblast to one previous by issued on the subject by the government in circulation-proscribed

April 1921:- Serious riot at Kizhikot-Hindus interrupted a Khilafat meeting- In retaliation, the Mappillas defiled a madam (A brahman house) and a kulapora(bathing tank)- Khilafat conference at Erode- and Muhammad Ali's speeches in Madras deivided the Mappillas into sections, one looking forward to the establishment of swaraj within seven months by means of prayer, fasting and spinning as preached by Gandhi; and the other ~~awaiting~~ awaiating a call for men and money from the Amir of Afghanistan who was in a fair way to conquer the north of India, one believing in an India for the Indians and the other expecting on India for the Muhammadans-

End of April:-Congress/cum Khilafat meeting at Ottapalem- a collusion between the police and the volunteers- Kerala Ulema conference-41 Ulemas and 700 Mappillas passed resolution of non-cooperation with the government.

May 1921:- Non-coperation movement ~~and~~ appeared to be dying down, but it was kept alive by preaching and lecturers in the mosques-Malayalam translation of Muhammad Alis Madras speech- led to the conducting of the

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kuniyath' prayers in the mosques-Paid workers busy during thecourse of the month, all bad characters, south Malabar -is working in the north and the North Malabaris in the south.

June 1921:- Palathan Mullayil Ali Musaliar enrolling volunteers-stirred up bad characters of Tirurangadi-mass prayer in th supposed burial place of 'martyrs' in the previous fanatical outbreak-He attended the mosque with his volunteers dressed in uniform and carrying ~~xx~~ swords- He believed that the Amir of Afghanistan declared war on Britain and therefore it was incumbent on him and his followers to fight- The government who were aware of the dangerous potenttialities of the movement instructed the District Magistrate to chek it- Movement said to have ~~xxxxxxxx~~ subsided due to the intervention of the DY Superintendent of Police and a retired government official-propaganda carried on in the Ponnani, Erand and Walluavanad taluks by agitators- M.P.Narayana Menon, M.Gopala Menon, K.V.Raman Menon and M.Mahaman Masalier.

July 1921:Agitators continued their work in July- The formation of the Kerala Province Khilafat committee-Resumtions of processions to the mosque by Tiruvangadi Ali Musaliar-Procession about 40 strong-some in uniform and others with the Khilafat badges-similar procession at Mannarghat-100 strong including 15 volunteers-

Important Mappilla meeting at Ponnani to discuss the Religious side of Khilafat meeting-Many Maulavies attended-opposite parties allowed to state their view-Respectable Mappillas dissociated themselves from the idea of violence- Pukottur incident(31st July) armed Mappillas prevented the police from making certain arrests.

August 1921:-End of the monsth-Malayalam translations of ~~A~~ A.I. Khilafat conference ~~xxxxxxx~~ at Karachi circulated. Their gist-if no settlement of Khilafat question is reached by the end of the year Indian Republic sould be

declared- picketing of Toddy shops began in thiß month- In Calicut it was a farce, but in places beyond the reach of the police terrorism was unrestrained.

The situation beyond the power of the District authosirties-Government decided to send troops to assist them-The partial failure to make arrest at Tirurangadi and its tragic consequences formed the opening incident of the Mappilla rebellion-The area most affected by the N.C. and the Khilafat agitation came under Martial Law.

One of the rebel leaders, Ali Musaliar subsequently captured and tried- A passage from the judgement; Gist;- fanaticism, agrarian troubles and destribution were not the causes of the rebellion-Influence of the non-cooperation and the Khilafat movements drove them to the crime- Ali Musaliar preached that the Amir of Afghanistan was coming to conquer India, that Gandhi and Ali Brothers were determined to help him, and that the Mappillas should help Gandhi and Ali Brothers.Government officers should be murdered and the British courts boycotted.

Main brunt of the rebellion borned by the Hindus- Massacres, forcible conversions, the desecration of the temples, foul outrages upon women,pillage, arson and destruction were perpetrated.

Effect:Immediate reaction from non-cooperation. Local Boards expressed confidence in government and their readness to help-A wave of horror spread among the Hindus allover South India- Certain Khilafat leaders congratulated the Mappillas-Gandhi spoke of them appreciatively- brushed aside the Malabar rebellion 'as a mere incident' the rebellion grave as it was, did not open the eyes of the non-cooperation leaders elsewhere in the Madras Presidency.

III MOVEMENT IN THE REST OF THE PRESIDENCY.

Janaury to March.1921:- Khilafat movement followed the limes of the genral non-cooperation movement-Hindu politicans conspicuous in Khilafat organizations and meetings an- Except at Vanuyambadi and Tiruppattur in North Arcot Dt.

Muhammadans never took the lead but played only a secondary part. 9th of March, a Majlis-al-Ulema conference at Erode in the Coimbatore District. Tone moderate-diatribes of the Ali Brother and other Northern Indian agitators.

Muhammad Ali's presidenctial Address:-

He was for ending the government if it it did not mend-should redress the Khilafat and the Panjab wrongs and give Swaraj as a guarantee that hey would never be reapeated." Referred to the success of armed revolution in Ireland, but summed up in favour of non-violent non-cooperation.

In another meetings outside the conference presided over by Dr. T. S. Rajan of Trichinopoly, he exhorted the audience to induce the troops, the police and the civil service to giveup up the service under the Government. Muhammad Ali's speech at Madras.-

Shaukat Ali's speech to the Andhras:- Referred to the services of the Andhras at the time probably of the great Indian Mutiny and asked them to undo their work, and wipe off that disgrace from their faces- Referred to his meeting at Bezwada-Rama-dandu and their leader Gopala-krishnayya and his advice-Muhammad Ali's speech was intended to rouse the feelings of the people,,specially Mussalmans by representing that the Government was hostile to Islam-Shaukat Ali's speech was designed to stir up rebellion in the Telugu Districts.

May-June1921:- Link between the Khilafat organisation and non-cooperation became even closer-stirring up of Muslim feeling by Abdul Majid Sharar and his Quami Report The activities of Muhammad Sultan Ravuttar of Coimbatore and Saiyid Martuza of Trichinopoly in the sounthern districts-Apart from Madras, the movement strongest in Vaniyambadi in Northe Arcot-Resolutions of Begaum Dt. Khilafat conference and the central Khilafat committee

Bombay stimulated collections for Khilafat funds.

July to August.1921:-Arrival in the presidency is of agitators from Norhern India-excitement at Vaniyambadi by the lectures of Maulavi Haji Abdus Samad of Lucknow.

September and October.1921:- Muhammadans conspicuous in the non-cooperation movement in the Ananthapur dt.- Arrests of Mr.Muhammad Ali and Dr.Kitchlew-Arrival of Mrs.Muhammad Ali in Madras -Khilafatists staunch supporters of the non-cooperation movement in Tinnevelly-Arrest of Abdul Majid Sharar-was succeeded Farukhi as the editor of the Qaumi Report./

Meetings-against the prescription of the fatawa of the Jamait-al-Ulema-i-Hind-

Meetings-for re-affirming Karachi resolutions-ended in fiasco-

" - in the muffasal served to aggravate anti-govt. and anti-British feeling.

Activities of G.Harisarvothama Rao in Cuddapah- and strong Khilafat committee was founded and Karachi resolutions re-affirmed-Some Muhammadan policemen affected by the propaganda-The situation tactfully handled by the district authorities. Yaqub Hasan arrested, prosecuted. and convicted.

November. 1921:-

Bellary and Anantapur:- Movement showed signs of warning

North Arcot:- Arrest of certain local agitators had good effect, in parts of the district, inother parts population continued to be easily excitable-They had to be restrained by order under Sec.144 C.P.C.Muhammadans in Ambur, Vaniyambadi, and Tiruppattur ready for civil disobedience-P.S.P.boycotted at Vaniyambadi.

Provintial:- Khilafat committee:- Inactivity after Yaqub Hasan's conviction.

Cuddapah:- Khilafat activity continued-singing of the national songs popular.

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Kurnool:- Khilafat leaders active in non-cooperation movement-order under section 144 C.P.C. to restrain them.

In early December, out 214 active agitators 40 or 20 pe cent were Mussalmans.

CHAPTER III

THE KHILAFAT MOVEMENT IN 1922 AND AFTER.

January 1922:- The arrival of the Prince of Wales(13thJan in Madras-disturbances-Khilafat volunteers and Muhammadans tokk a prominent part. Angord Day celebrated-Muslim feelings in North Arcot pan high-Tanjore affected.

February.1922:- Muhammadans in Trichinopoly under Mian Ravuttar took a prominent part in non-cooperation-End of Febraury:- Fazih-Uz-Zaman sent by the central Khilafat

March.1922:- Committee to start a new Muslim league in the place of the Khilafat movement- the revival of the Muslim volunteer corps in Madras.

April.1922:- North Arcot and Cuddapah continued to chief centres of Khilafat movement. In Trichinopoly, five Panchayat courts started in Mussalaman centres-Came into conflict with the law of the land and ceased to function.

Arrival of five agitators including Azad Subhani of Luknow from North India-Their attempt to revive provincial Khilafat committee-Subhani was the President of the committee to study the cause of Mappilla outrages-Not Allowed by the District Magistrate to enter the disturbed area.

May 1922:- Fasih-uz-Zaman's activities-forming of branches of the Muslim league in the southern districts-reviving Khilafat agitation, and collecting funds for the Angora fund-unsuccessful attempt to populatise Khaddar during Ramzan, coolness between the Khilafatists and the non-cooperators.

June 1922:-In Madras, differences between the Khilafat committee and the new Muslim league started by Subhani-

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July 1922:- In Madras, Khilafat committee, under-took to play civil Disobedience Enquiry committee and called on District committees to send witness-

August.1922:- Arrival of the civil Disobedience Enquiry committee and Khilafat Enquiry committee- infused a little life afresh to the movement in Madras.

September.1922: Muhammandans engaged in congratulating Turks on their success.

November.1922: And December.: Muhammadan opinion began to be divided on the question of continued adherence to non-cooperation-Tamil-nad provincial Khil-conference and the Andhra Provincial Khilafat committee passed resolutions in of continued adherence-Muhammadans in General looked forward to the Ganga Khilafat conference for lead.

Janaury 1923:-Election of thenew Khalifa accepted universally all over the presidency. Attempt to revive Khilafat in Malabar-But Muhammadans attention was engaged in the Near East and the Lausanne conference- failure of the latter attributed to British antipathy.

February.1923:- Celebration of the Angora week-not quite successful-

May 1923:- Kerala Khilafat conference at Tellicherry- presence of a central Khilafat deputation including Dr. Saijid Mahud- The deputation prohibited by the District Magistrate from entering the disturbed area-

July to December.1923:- satisfactorily conclusion of the Turkish peace treaty-prayers in mosques, flag processions and public meeting-After this, Khilafatists activities practically ceased by the end of 1923.

October.1923:- Muslim attention engaged in council elections-all Muhammadan seats filled.

December.1923:- Meetings of All India Khilafat conference and Jamait-al-Ulema simultaneously with the meeting of the Indian National congress at Cocanada-

1924:-Tours of Ali Brothers and other Khilafat leader

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in the presidency-little enthusiasm-Muhammadan community absorbed in the activities of their representatives in the councils-Abolition of the Offic of the Khalifa by the Angora Assembly early 1924-A surprise to Indian Muhammadans-but roused little feeling-

CHAPTER.IV

THE KHILAFAT VOLUNTEERS.

Only aspect of the Khilafat movement in the presiden requiring special mention is the volunteer movement-several attempts to reorganize corps of volunteers even before the rising of the general national volunteers movement.

May 1919:- Annual conference of the Majilis-al-Ulema at Tanjore- a corps of volunteers, the servants of Islam in attendance-strength estimated from 300 to 500-were drilled and made some show military discipline-carrying the union with a cresent on the top- no attempt made to give at permanent organization.

March.1920:- Volunteer corps organized in the Madras city for the purpose of hartal on March,19.consisting of youth students and others-some drilling-sometimes dressed in Khaki uniforms, wore cresent badges but h no regular equipment of arms-arms a cadre of officers with a colonel at their head-regulations were cast in quasi-military form-objects; to restrain people from commiting violence-Activities similar to those of national volunteers-their penchant parade and processi similar corps at Vaniyambadi and Tirupattur in North Arcot District. Though potentially dangerous, they wer not declared illegal bodies-the volunteer vaned simultaneously with the Khilat-South Malabar volunteer movement took a serious trun and had intimate connexion with the Mappilla rebellion.

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